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Syokyoma
Kalisa

[16] ghosts that if the bride does not wash with powdered medicine she will go mad and she will bury children'.

Syonga, the officiant for all the rituals in Pavakoto's lineage, said:

[16] *If a girl goes mad, we say, If we have not treated her: 'We neglected the ritual, let us treat her.' She runs about aimlessly and makes bundles of filth. But if we have treated her we say: 'Perhaps Kyala has gone away from us. See! Nothing has been omitted, we have treated her.' And if she does not bear a child as her husband's heir to leave say to her: 'Did your father and mother not treat you?'*

[16-8] Mbwamawwa (a middle-aged pagan): *It is said that if the man lived with his fellows who sleep with their husbands they will leave (overstep) her, and she has diarrhoea. When she has been given powdered medicine, then she sleeps with them. . . . To lie on powdered medicine which has been sprinkled on the ground is to give the bride weight (sheria), because if it is not done those who are with their husbands will overstep her and she will have diarrhoea.*

[17] Pakacoto's Wife: *In the old days we put medicine in her porridge so that she would not run away from her husband . . . not now. It's European times now.*

• [18] Question: *Is Sokya it is said that if she is not given powdered medicine she will be proud.*

Mwaa: *Yes, here we. And if the girl is proud we beat her.*

Mbwamawwa: Washing and catching in her hands the water that falls from her husband's hands has two meanings. In some families the husband and wife wash separately, in others they wash together. In either case the first meaning is present, in the second both meanings.

[18] *It is said that when someone has not washed in the puberty ritual he or her children will die, for that water (with which he neglected to wash) will enter the child's stomach and kill it. The water is in the child's stomach but its symptoms are those of diarrhoea. The subtle girl catching water in her hands washes so that the woman will receive*

[19] *[illegible] another grandson (we speak of intercourse), which means that the woman receives the semen which comes from the man.*

Making fire by friction is a symbol of procreation.[1] *If the fire does not kindle we say the couple are sterile. Two fire-sticks are used, one is the man the other the woman, and the fire is the child. The friction made by the rubbing is the semen.*

Kajawa: *If the fire does not come the man is sterile and the girl will quarrel with her husband and perhaps run away. It does not mean she will be known with other men.*

[1] Chipapa is make fire by friction, chipapa = masculine.

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Nyakyusa

and children a man has to assist him the more wealth he can produce. The men and his unmarried sons live, his wives and young daughters plant, weed and harvest, fetch water, cut firewood and cook the food; and in other practical activities there is equally fruitful co-operation within the household group.

When a man marries he takes his wife from her father's village to his own where he lives with a group of contemporaries. Each village is in origin an age-group, formed by the sons of some village of which men who have gone one by one as they reach the age of ten to twelve years and build together on ground set aside for them by their fathers. It is not known, the Nyakyusa maintain, for a boy to sleep at home after any vigorous interest in sexual activity has awakened in him; and so, for the fifteen years or more between leaving home and marriage, he sleeps with bachelor friends in a boys' village. He and a group of friends go round in turn to the houses of their respective parents for meals, and each boy his own parents' fields, but all return to the boys' village at night.

As the members of the boys' village grow older, younger boys just leaving home begin to be refused admittance to it and so either start a fresh village of their own nearby or else join a village of their own contemporaries which has already been started. Boys' villages are thus forever living off from the villages of men. As first a boys' village covers but little ground for, as its members are unmarried, the houses are small and close together and there are no garden lands attached to it. But as the young men marry one by one the village expands, houses are built bigger and further apart and some adjacent ground is brought under cultivation, until at last it assumes the normal aspect of a village of adult men.

A village thus consists of a male age-group with wives and children attached. Wives may be of any age and there is no such formal age grouping among women as among the men. Girls, as they grow up, marry men too may enter the village who are not exact contemporaries of its other members. When a man dies his heir, either a younger brother or a son, often comes to live in his village; but an stranger who asks for land in a village may, I think, refused on the ground of unsuitable age. Villages vary considerably in size but average forty to fifty households.

In fact a village of boys, as we have said, is built on ground allotted to it by the village of their fathers, but a new allotment is made automatically at the ' coming out ' (akwaba) of the young chiefs.

Every generation each chiefdom of the Nyakyusa is divided into two halves, a fact which is hard to understand until it is realized that the Nyakyusa consist of a number of immigrant groups which have, until very recently, been expanding their territory within the chiefdom and

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[illegible] cultivated communal plots here and there which could be taken up and some existing buildings in the area are too large for the agricultural capabilities of their occupiers. The temporary shifts have now died off. The local headmen had become seriously worried over the large-scale alienation of the land resources without any appreciable increase in the number of the villagers, and the plan worked to conserve the remaining land against the ever [illegible] needs of his own people.

The principle of an land ordinary residence also means that a villager who wishes to leave even momentarily forfeits his land-holding to the village. A little earlier he would most probably have been able to retain at least his fields beyond the immediate vicinity of the borders — so as far as his own residence was not too far away to allow continued cultivation. This has been especially important for younger men who, wishing to take up a vacant building elsewhere, also desire to retain their share of the perennial holding allocated by inheritance. Commonly, they are now unable to move up to their father's building until [illegible] their fields in their own village. Such men must now make a permanent decision between the claims of perhaps two inadequate holdings which, however, combined together might be of satisfactory size.

As a consequence of this, inter-village opposition is probably greater than it has ever been in European times, and for [illegible] perhaps than it was in the old days, when [illegible] the security of their holdings, the future of their sons, and the possibility of increasing their arable cultivation lies wholly within the security and stability of their own village. They tend to see other villagers and other villages as a potential threat to their own land [illegible] improvements; they often suspect the wives of neighbouring villagers who, they think, will, given the chance, seize some of their land. Headmen and villagers would refuse to cross the boundary into another village when they accompanied me during my investigations, for they be accused of surreptitiously appropriation of the land there. Such views are still expressed [illegible] by a village who regarded with some animosity. Fieldwork would be [illegible] beyond their own village boundaries in an attempt to make an appreciation of the problems around land alienation. They wished only reluctantly to drag to other they already had and to guard it jealously; they were only too inclined to believe that other villagers exactly were better off and to see [illegible] an antagonism for their own difficulties and shortage. It must be said that they received assistance on village endowments and the accessibility of village boundaries has in fact enabled to make for a certain [illegible] of land-holding according to the perseverance and ability with which [illegible] have claimed authority over formerly waste lands. This conditions is however, [illegible] encouragement to man's desire solely and in any case it is working to the [illegible] under the pressure of inter-village ownership.

The Pondyala village in the Lake Plains, with its intensified [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

...as determined by the village headmen. But even building sites with the reputedly woodland bushes grown are becoming increasingly scarce and valuable, for no one desires to decrease the amount of arable by destroying the bush on which—rather the ancestors. The number of young men's villages is therefore diminishing and congestion of their huts is increasing to the stage very often where no more than a narrow passage is left between adjacent houses. There seems to be a wider age range in the young men's hamlets where, often, a large village provides only one hut for all its sons. Smaller villages sometimes provide no accommodation at all for their sons, who are thus compelled to seek membership of a neighbouring group. These hamlets are mainly regarded nowadays as temporary residential areas for the young men until such time as they move on to an existing building - their father's or some other. There is therefore an attempt to provide sufficient space for an adequate farming group with each young man's house, for which a fresh area has to be found. The arable land beyond the congested huts already belongs to inhabitants of the main village. When a young man is able to move and also up a building has received his (together, often, with the hut) a token ever by a meeting priest who has probably been sharing with another fellowers.

These young men's hamlets do not, and longer, eventually mature and become villages in their own right with their own headmen and arable lands. Formerly, when this occurred, they would probably have taken over a good deal of the lands of the old village, as the young men exercised the privileges of their age hierarchy against their elders with the emergence of the new conditions, new conditions, and with them new villages, no longer emerge, and this is mainly because Government has prohibited the intervention of party practitioners on the death of the old chief, as it is considered inconsistent with the development of stable, modern local government. Additionally, however, the shortage of land can no longer allow of the traditional expanding political territorial organization. The elder men's villages are not now prepared to yield ground to the young men, and the latter cannot expand elsewhere. New political requirements and land resources work together to make the old system obsolete and to freeze the spatial distribution of villages as it existed in early European times. As far as I could ascertain in the districts of the Lake Rukwa, probably no new village had emerged in the past 30 or more years, except for a few cases of large men achieving this via the administrative and social conveniences. Many villages have now lost touch to pre-European days when were under the rule, or even the grandsons, of the original headmen (though this is not essential or invariable in any way).

The age-basis of the Nyakyusa village is thus disappearing. Indeed, in many villages it has already disappeared in everything but the young men's hamlets. Where the process has gone least far, there is still apparently a rough division of the single village into the old men's senior (men in their 70 years of age, and young adult) villages, the latter [illegible] senior relatives, often the old chief, to [illegible] the younger brothers or elder sons of the old men) and the young men's own peers' group. As adolescents, sons used to share a communal allowance to move and live on their father's farms and not to become immediate neighbours of older men; they would if possible, after attaining a middle-aged man to shift their [illegible]. Nevertheless even this sort of age-division is rapidly vanishing and in very many villages a man's neighbours may be of any age.

We have very little information to work out of the chief methods of preserving land. Under the new circumstances today this means that men follow their fathers and who on their fathers' arable holdings, building only and farming grows. Some young men inherit early, others inherit late, there is no longer any serious possibility of the younger generation entering into an